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The Historical Background

Sinkiang has lain within the political horizon of China for more than two thousand years, but only intermittently has it been under Chinese influence, control, or sovereignty. In periods when China's foreign wars and foreign trade were concerned with the land frontier, Sinkiang was a key sector of the frontier. In the nineteenth century, when China was dominated by foreign influences in the coastal treaty ports, Sinkiang faded in importance except when it was the scene of Moslem rebellions. It is now coming back into importance because the whole frontier zone between China and the Soviet Union has become one of the frontiers which determine the political balance of the world.

The historical material of Inner Asia is exceptionally rich. In addition to the early Chinese chronicles, there is material in all the languages of Inner Asia itself, some of it only recently and romantically recovered. The modern rediscovery of Inner Asia's ancient cultures began in 1879, when a Russian botanist returned from Turkistan with reports of a ruined city near Turfan which he believed to have been a Roman settlement. Later European travelers brought back stories of other ancient towns buried under the sands of the Taklamakan Desert. They were able to procure from local treasure seekers statuettes, terra-cotta figurines, pottery fragments, metal coins, and other small objects, all said to have been dug out of old places. In many cases these were of a high order of workmanship and reminiscent in design of ancient Greece. A few fragments of old Buddhist texts written on birch bark in an early Indian language were also turned up in this way.

No living tradition connected the simple Moslem Turkish-speaking cultivators, herdsmen, traders, and artisans of the nineteenth-century Inner Asia with these remarkable artistic and literary finds. But Chinese annals, particularly of the great Han and T'ang Dynasties, yield a great deal of information on the fortunes of numerous oasis kingdoms of the "Western Countries" from as early as the second century before Christ through the ninth cen-

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● 174 tury of our era. In the writings of two celebrated Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, Fa Hsien and Hsuan Tsang, who had traversed the area in the fifth and seventh centuries respectively, were glowing descriptions of great temples and monasteries which were centers of learning and piety.

Expeditions to uncover the lost Buddhist culture of Central Asia set forth in the 1890's. It soon became clear that the possibilities for scholarship and artistic booty were even greater than had been expected. By the first decade of the present century English, Russian, French, German, and Japanese archaeological missions were engaged in a lively competition for the discovery of new sites and the carrying off of manuscripts, wall paintings, and sculpture.[1]

Scientific expeditions have also brought back from Inner Asia even older relics of the very beginning of human society. The prehistory of Inner Asia can now be traced all the way back to the Stone Age migrations and trade over the whole territory between Europe and China.

At the dawn of human history, mankind was distributed so thinly, and organized in social units of so small a size, that it would be misleading to think of geographical areas which dominated other areas. The Black Sea area in Europe and the Yellow River area in China were potentially capable of much denser populations than the Inner Asian area; but the central groups in which men lived were then probably just as large near the sources of water and food in Inner Asia as they were on the shores of the Black Sea and in the valley of the Yellow River.

Between the Black Sea and the Yellow River a very ancient line of travel, trade, and culture diffusion traversed Inner Asia. It may well have been established by the migrations of paleolithic man, but the evidence of it first becomes clear in the Neolithic Age.[2] In this "land of passage" three ancient forms of society were in contact with each other. On the southern side, in oases where

[1] For an account of the results of these expeditions see Appendix I.

[2] J. G. Andersson, "Der Weg über die Steppen," in *Bulletin* of the Östasiatiska Samlingarna, No. 1, Stockholm, 1929.

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water was available, were settled agricultural peoples. On the northern side, in the vast forests reaching all the way from Russia through Siberia to Manchuria, were forest tribes. In between were the pastoral nomads.

Of these three forms, pastoral nomadism was later than the other two; in fact it evolved out of them. At the edges of the forests, some groups of hunters took to the domestication of animals and moved out into the grasslands to pasture them. Similarly, animals were also domesticated in the farming oases on the south, and at the edges of the oases some groups of people abandoned farming and moved out into the steppes as herdsmen. Thus the nomads of the steppes were in touch both with forest tribes and with farming peoples, and the "land of passage" which they occupied became a valve through which pulsated the movements of trade, migration, and conquest.

Through this valve, China began to exert pressure on Inner Asia in the Han period (206 B.C.–220 A.D.). China had by this time become a vast civilized empire. Within its own territory, this empire was based economically on agriculture, but on its northern fringes it faced, like the contemporary Roman Empire, the problem of dealing with barbarian tribes which resisted both absorption into the Chinese culture and control by the Chinese state.

The first "foreign policy" of China grew out of attempts to deal with this problem. It took the form of trying to exclude the barbarians physically from the area solidly occupied by Chinese agriculture and civilization, and led to the building of the Great Wall as a fortified frontier, just as the Roman Empire, in the same period, in its attempts to stabilize the cleavage between Roman civilization and Teutonic and Slavic barbarism, fortified the Rhine-Danube frontier.

The Chinese then found, however, that the barbarians whom they were trying to shut out into outer darkness were not mere savages. They were capable of social and political evolution, as well as of military evolution, enabling them to deal with the Chinese Great Wall frontier policy. They found that, as petty tribes, they could no longer cope with the massive Chinese Em-

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174 pire and so their tribal warfare among themselves rapidly took the form of subordinating petty chieftains to a supreme ruler of all the nomads. Thus there arose the unified Empire of the Hsiungnu or early Huns, matching the unified Empire of China.

Sinkiang, lying out in Inner Asia beyond the northwestern end of the Great Wall, and on the southwestern flank of the Hsiungnu Empire, then became a pivotal strategic area. The small fertile oases of Inner Asia, widely scattered among deserts, steppes, and mountains, could support flourishing cities but not strong states. They were so far from China that transportation in bulk was expensive, and therefore they could not be incorporated economically within the Chinese state. If left to pay tribute to the Hsiungnu and to trade with them, however, they were a dangerous source of strength to the nomads. Of necessity it therefore became the Chinese policy to occupy as many of the oases as possible, as garrison points; to treat other oases as protected states, in order to keep them from falling under Hsiungnu control; and to keep their trade oriented toward China, rather than toward the Hsiungnu. Thus the expansion of Chinese long-range trade into Inner Asia was politically motivated. It was fostered by imperial policy — to keep the oases bound to China — and was not the outgrowth of an economic search for markets for the surplus production of China.

In penetrating into Sinkiang, the Chinese for the first time encountered not barbarism but an agricultural and urban civilization as sophisticated as their own. A story from the first century shows that the people of Inner Asia, though recognizing the power of the Chinese, were not overawed by their culture. The ruler of the oasis of Kucha spent a year at the Chinese Court, as a dutiful vassal, and returned with a Chinese wife. He then built a palace in the Chinese style and introduced ceremonies, costumes, music, and an administrative system in imitation of the Chinese; but the people of Kucha ridiculed this imitation as "half horse and half donkey" — a sterile, "mule" culture.

The high civilization of the oasis cities of Inner Asia had been stimulated by contact with surrounding areas. On the southern

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side, the most important civilized state was the empire founded in Northwest India by Chandragupta, whom the Greeks called Sandrocottus, a contemporary of Alexander the Great. His grandson, Asoka, who reigned just before the opening of the Han period in China, first made Buddhism a great state religion. Buddhist missionaries soon established the religion in the oases of Inner Asia, and one of the results of Chinese penetration into Sinkiang was the entrance of Buddhism into China. The Chinese, in their Inner Asian expansion, were in fact not one-way carriers of a superior culture; they brought back with them ideas and practices which were accepted with admiration in China.

More faint than the influences from India, but also important, were the contacts which the Chinese at this time made with the centers of high civilization in Iran, west of Inner Asia. It was from this area that advanced irrigation engineering had penetrated into Inner Asia — making it possible to support dense populations, and a high culture, in small oases.

In the Han period each of the world's great empires had expanded from its center and had walled its outer frontier to exclude the barbarians. In the terrain between Iran and what is now Soviet territory, the geographical contrast between land best suited to the plow and land which favors the herdsman is not so clear as it is along the Great Wall frontier of China. Nevertheless, frontier walls were built in this region against the incursions of nomads,[3] as they were also in the Crimea.[4] Since the Roman Empire also built walled frontiers, it is clear that it was a common feature of the great civilizations of this period that they all faced, on the north, barbarian territory, from which they were periodically menaced, but which they did not wish to enter, conquer, and annex: a walled frontier marks a line which a state is prepared to defend, but beyond which it does not wish to expand.

All of these great empires were similar in structure and had

[3] W. Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, Paris, 1945, p. 32.
[4] K. Grinevich, "Defense of the Cimmerian Bosphorus," *Journal of Ancient History*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1946, No. 2, pp. 160–164 (in Russian).

174 similar troubles along their barbarian frontiers principally because, just before this period, there had been several centuries of extremely rapid development. Iron became plentiful enough to displace not only bronze, but the stone weapons and farming implements which had continued to be widely used even in the Age of Bronze. Farming populations then multiplied very rapidly, spreading out and occupying land which had not previously been brought under the plow.

The whole agricultural world, from Britain and Gaul all the way to the Pacific, then became much more solid and tended to exclude from itself a "barbarian fringe" of forest and steppe tribes. In the civilized empires occupations became rapidly more diversified and specialized; the urban-rural relationship became more complicated; social classes became more sharply marked off from each other; and new, more complex and geographically much larger political states developed.

This evolutionary process then gave way to a devolutionary phase, during the period from about A.D. 200 to 600. The great states were exhausted, partly by the tendency of the rich to get richer and the poor to get poorer, which produced internal crises, and partly by the economic drain of chronic frontier war. Among the new kingdoms which then formed, the frontier states especially tended to be dominated by barbarian conquerors.

In China, the tendency among such rulers to adopt Buddhism as a mark of civilization was important in keeping up contact with Inner Asia. Thus, in the fifth century, the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hsien, passing through the oasis of Khotan[5] on his way to India, described four great monasteries and many smaller ones. He and his Chinese companions were lodged at a monastery where three thousand monks took their seats for meals in regular order and "perfect silence." He describes a new monastery, near the

[5] Most of the larger towns of Sinkiang have at least three names — the Uighur, Kazakh, or Mongol name; the Chinese name used under the Manchu Dynasty; and the Chinese name used under the Republic. Many have several other names. To avoid confusion, the name used by the local people in the local language will be used in this book. Variant names are listed in Appendix VIII.

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city, the building of which took eighty years and extended over three reigns. It was "rich in elegant carving and inlaid work, covered above with gold and silver and finished throughout with a combination of all the precious substances," and had a Hall of Buddha, "of the utmost magnificence and beauty, the beams, pillars, Venetian doors and windows all being overlaid with gold leaf. Besides this, the apartments for the monks are imposingly and elegantly decorated, beyond the power of words to describe."[6]

Ecclesiastical enterprise on such a scale indicates prosperity among the oasis states, and probably active trade. There must also have been an ample supply of food, very probably from serf-cultivated lands belonging to the monasteries. Labor for the great building projects may have been supplied partly by forced labor of the serfs in the winter season, partly by slaves captured by the barbarian kingdoms in their wars against each other and sold to the civilized lands. We know that there was a large traffic in slaves, especially farther to the west.

From about the year 600, great empires began to coalesce once more. In China, this was the age of the T'ang Dynasty, 618 to 907. This was also the period of the great Arab conquests; Byzantium reached the height of its power and influence; and, in the year 800, Charlemagne was crowned Emperor.

In the T'ang period, the centers of gravity were nearer to the periphery of civilization, and imperial power represented a welding together of military forces, which were largely of barbarian origin, and the revenues of civilization from agriculture, urban production, and trade. Such empires depended more on their ability to maneuver against barbarians in war, and less on static walled frontiers.

Following the rule that the organization of states among pastoral nomads follows like a shadow the formation of neighboring civilized states, there arose in the steppe, in this period, a series of "tribal nations": the Orkhon Turks in Mongolia; the Uighur

[6] *Fa Hsien's Travels*, tr. and ed. by James Legge (Chinese text and English translation), Oxford, 1886, Chapter 3.

• 174 and other Turkish nations in Inner Asia; and the Khazar, Bulgar, and Pecheneg states in the Caspian-Black Sea steppe.

Sinkiang in this period continued to hold a pivotal position between the Chinese, Indian, and Iranian worlds, with distant connections with the South Russian steppe. In its culture the Indian, Iranian, and Near Eastern elements were still stronger than the Chinese influence. Merchants of the Sinkiang oases traveled widely. In the ninth century there were communities of them at Sian (Ch'angan, the T'ang capital), at Loyang in the main Yellow River Valley, at Yangchou on the Yangtze, and even at Canton on the southern coast of China.[7] They carried with them the practices of Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, Nestorian Christianity, Buddhism, and Islam.[8]

The tradition of pilgrimage from China through Inner Asia to the centers of Buddhist learning continued, and accompanied a general growth of Chinese influence. In the middle of the seventh century, when the pilgrim Hsuan Tsang had departed eastward from the oasis of Komul, there were only three Chinese monks to see him off. About a hundred years later, there were many Chinese in the monastic communities of Kucha, Kashgar, and Khotan; and one of their activities was the making of usurious loans to the local population.[9]

Hsuan Tsang himself writes of Aksu that "the customs and temperament of the people, as well as their script and law, are the same as in Kucha. The dialects are somewhat different. Monasteries number several tens and monks over a thousand in Aksu. The people in general are cunning and greedy, loans are often transacted between father and son. Virtues are not treasured but wealth is worshiped. The life of the very rich appears to be miserly, being shabby in dress and stingy in food. It would

[7] See Hsiang Ta, "The Chang-an of the Tang Dynasty and the Civilization of the Western Regions," *Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies*, Monograph series No. 2, Peiping, 1933 (in Chinese).

[8] Wang Jih-wei, "The Iranians in Sinkiang," in *Yü-Kung* semimonthly, Peiping, Aug. 1, 1935, Vol. 3, No. 11, p. 1–9 (in Chinese).

[9] See Chavannes, *Documents Chinois*, p. 206 ff. and Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Oxford, 1907, Vol. 2, p. 527.

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seem that half of the population is engaged in trading and the other half in field cultivation." [10] 174

In this period Tibetan invaders penetrated both Sinkiang and Northwest China. After they had been dislodged from Sinkiang, they continued to control the frontier kingdom of Hsi Hsia or Tanggot in Northwest China, with a capital at Ninghsia on the Yellow River, and a mixed population of cultivators whose languages were Chinese and Turkish and pastoral nomads whose languages were Tibetan, Turkish, and Mongol. It was as a result of this expansion that elements of Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism and Nestorian Christianity were carried back from Inner Asia to Tibet, where they contributed to the transformation of Northern Buddhism into the new syncretic religion of Lamaistic Buddhism.

Most important of all, however, was the movement of wave after wave of Turkish invaders — Uighurs, Karluks, Kirghiz, and others — from the northern steppe fringe of Inner Asia and the southern edges of the Siberian forests into positions which put them astride of the trade routes and in control of the oases. Gradually Islam became the prevailing religion among these Turks, and at the same time their languages displaced the Indo-European and Indo-Iranian languages which until then had been spoken in the oases. By the end of this dual process, which was not completed until after the close of the T'ang period, Turkish was spoken, in different variants, from the borders of Iran to the borders of China, and Islam ruled all the way from Northwest China to the Black Sea.

The forms of migration involved in these changes are important. They did not empty that part of the steppe in which they originated. Nor did they exterminate or drive away the populations of the territories into which they penetrated. The typical forms of movement, to which the terms "migration" and "conquest" tend to be applied without sufficient discrimination, were movements of warrior bands, not of the whole people from whom the warriors were recruited. At first these bands made raids for plunder. Then they settled permanently in territories from which

[10] Hsuan Tsang, *Ta T'ang Hsi Yü Chi*, Shanghai, 1922, Vol. 1 (in Chinese).

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• 174 they could take an annual revenue. It was not to their interest to destroy the whole of the population which provided the revenue. As for the defeated rulers, often they succeeded in leading bands of their own followers to "migration" or "conquest" in another region. Thus the transfer of tribal names was wider than the migration of whole tribes; and descendants of the original Indo-European or Indo-Iranian peoples of Inner Asia, though Turkized in language and Islamized in religion, continued to form a great part of the population, especially in the oases.

In the tenth century there began a new development, culminating in the Mongol conquests at the beginning of the thirteenth century and continuing until the Mongol empires fell apart in the fourteenth century. In this period conquerors of steppe nomad origin moved from kingdoms on the frontiers of civilization to empires with capitals in the heart of ancient civilized territory. Once more, developments in China had their parallels in India, Iran, and South Russia, which should not be left out of mind.

In North China the Khitans of western Manchuria and eastern Mongolia founded the Liao Empire, astride the Great Wall and reaching into the Yellow River plains. They were succeeded by the Jurchids of the Chin or Kin Empire, whose barbarian territory of origin in Manchuria lay farther from the Great Wall than the Khitan steppes, and whose conquests pushed beyond the Yellow River to overlook the Yangtze.[11]

Then, at the opening of the thirteenth century, the conquests of Jenghis Khan created an empire extending from northern China to southern Russia; but this empire broke up quickly, under the descendants of his sons, into separate empires and kingdoms. The process of parcellation was most rapid and most con-

[11] When the Jurchids overthrew the Khitans, a warrior band of Khitans broke away to the Northwest, through Mongolia, and set up a Khara-Khitai kingdom in Inner Asia, astride the present frontiers between Sinkiang, Mongolia, and Siberia. Throughout both the Khitan and the Jurchid period, Northwest China continued to be dominated by the Tibetan-ruled Hsi Hsia or Tanggot state; thus throughout this period neither the oasis nor the steppe peoples of Inner Asia were in touch with any Chinese state ruled by Chinese; and contact between Inner Asia and the older Indian and Iranian cultures was also cut off by Moslem conquests.

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fused in Inner Asia. The Golden Horde in South Russia and the Yuan Dynasty in China ruled the two most solid Mongol empires; Inner Asia lay between them, and tended to break away from both of them.

Mongol rule ended in China when the Ming Dynasty was founded in 1368, and began to weaken rapidly in Russia a century later. When they first overthrew Mongol rule, the Chinese pushed their campaigns far into Mongolia; but through most of the Ming period (1368–1644) the Chinese horizon in Inner Asia was extremely limited. Rarely did even indirect Chinese influence extend beyond Komul and Turfan, the nearest large oases of Sinkiang.[12]

There was a similar situation all around Inner Asia. As civilization recovered from the Mongol onslaught, strong states were again formed; but they were not strong enough to make conquests in Inner Asia. In this period, moreover, Arab, Indian, and Chinese navigators developed a considerable ocean commerce, thus weakening the pressure which might otherwise have developed for the reopening of the long-distance overland trade routes. Inner Asia was therefore left more to itself than for many centuries. Innumerable small states were formed. By the sixteenth century, the last traces of Buddhism and Christianity disappeared from the oases, and Islam prevailed unchallenged except among the Mongol-speaking nomads, who still adhered to the Tibetan (or Lamaistic) form of Buddhism.

The oases were ruled from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century by the Moghuls, warriors of Mongol descent who had become Turkish in language and Moslem in religion. Their Khans — who claimed descent from Chagatai, son of Jenghis Khan, a claim which is of doubtful value — had split away from the Chagatai domains of Western Turkistan in the fourteenth century. In the fifteenth century, following a pattern not uncommon

[12] D. Pokotilov, *History of the Eastern Mongols in the Period of the Ming Dynasty, 1368–1634 — Based upon Chinese Sources*, St. Petersburg, 1893 (in Russian). An English translation by Rudolf Lowenthal was published at Chengtu, 1947, as No. 1 of Series A, *Studia Serica*, the Chinese Cultural Studies Research Institute, West China Union University.

174 in Moslem lands, a line of hereditary religious potentates, the Khojas, established itself beside the Khans.[13] By the seventeenth century, the Khojas had displaced the last quarreling heirs of the Moghuls and taken over direct rule of the Sinkiang oases.

In the steppe, power was divided among three groups of nomads. In Russian Inner Asia the Kazakhs and other Turkish-speaking nomads prevailed. On the east, after many tribal wars, the dominant Mongol power was that of the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia. In the center, in northern Sinkiang and western Mongolia, were the Oirats or Western Mongols — called "Kalmuks" by the Russians.[14]

174 By the year 1400 — when the Mongols in western and southern
175 Inner Asia had taken to the Turkish language and to Islam — the Oirats, who remained Mongol in speech and hostile to the Moslems, had become a warlike league which repeatedly invaded western Inner Asia and attacked the southern oases and Tibet. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries they struck eastward and nearly made themselves masters of the whole of the ancient Mongol homeland. It was to break their power that the Manchus, who had conquered China in the preceding century, invaded Sinkiang in the eighteenth century, conquered the Western Mongol Confederation, and established strong military garrisons. In the same period the Russians began their expansion into Siberia and Inner Asia, and the British their expansion over India up to Afghanistan, the Pamirs, and Tibet. This triple process marks the confluence of modern world history.

175 In the nineteenth century there were prolonged and bloody Moslem rebellions against the Manchus both in China and in Sinkiang. It was only after the suppression of these rebellions

[13] This line was founded by Khoja Makhtum Azyam, who had come to Kashgar from Bokhara and who claimed descent from the prophet Mohammed. The possession of lands and revenues made the Khojas feudal nobles as well as hereditary religious officials.

[14] Traditionally, the Oirats were a tribe from the region of Lake Baikal and the present Buryat Mongolia. The tribes of this region were half forest hunters, half pastoral nomads. The Oirats were placed in Inner Asia in the course of the regrouping and redistribution of Mongol tribes brought about by the conquests of Jenghis Khan.

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Uighur

From 745 to 840, warriors of this confederation penetrated into Inner Asia north and south of the Tien Shan. In 840 the Uighur power in Mongolia was destroyed by Kirghiz from the Lake Baikal-Yenisei area. Some of the Uighur warrior class succeeded in withdrawing southwest, where they took over the oases north of the Tien Shan, infiltrated in large numbers into the oases south of the mountains, and made themselves the rulers of a settled population. From Chinese transcriptions of the name Uighur, like *Hui-hu* and *Wei-wu-erh*, there was eventually formed the name "Hui" or "Hui-hui," the popular Chinese term for all Moslems.

The people or peoples among whom the Uighurs were absorbed but to whom they gave their name had for half a millennium or so enjoyed several flourishing civilizations. From the oases of easternmost Sinkiang have been recovered documents dating from the first century A.D., written in the Sogdian script. The language of these documents has been identified as belonging to the Indo-Iranian group; the main centers of the Soghds were Samarkand and Bokhara, but their language was widely used in Inner Asia, especially by traders. The Khotan oasis has given up documents in the Tokharian language and also in the Saka language, also belonging to the Indo-Iranian group, which date from 200–400 A.D. and are written in the Kharoshthi script, which came from India. The Saka civilization was related to the Kushan culture in northwestern India, and like it showed marked Hellenistic influences. In the same period there flourished in the Kucha and Turfan oases a civilization which also used the Tokharian language. What is most interesting about this language is that it belongs, like the Indo-Iranian languages just mentioned, to the larger Indo-European family, but unlike them has more affinity with languages of the "Kentum group" spoken in western Europe than with those farther east.

Besides speaking Indo-European languages the pre-Uighur peoples were distinguished by their devotion to Buddhism and Greco-Buddhist art, and to Manichaeism. The most important literary and artistic treasures from the Tarim Basin are connected with these religions.

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Uighur

*563 When the Uighurs penetrated to the Tarim area, they had already felt the influence of Manichaeism through Sogdian traders. ●174 After their contact with the settled population, numbers of the Uighurs were converted to Buddhism. In turn they established their own language among the indigenous people. Both groups were also influenced at an early period by Nestorian Christianity.

Subsequently Islam became the dominant religion in the whole area. The Kashgar region was first converted in the tenth century, but Islam spread slowly and did not completely drive out Buddhism until the sixteenth century.

The period of Uighur domination was brought to an end in the first quarter of the twelfth century by the invasion of the Khara Khitai, who at the beginning of the thirteenth century were in turn overthrown by Jenghis Khan. Mongol Khans continued to rule over the area even after the Mongol (Yüan) Dynasty was overthrown in China. The period of Mongol ascendancy was marked by a dual system of administration in which native princes, ecclesiastical leaders, and commune elders retained a considerable degree of authority. With the weakening of the Mongol hold the Moslem prelates, called *khojas*, were able to take over complete control in 1566 and establish what was virtually a theocratic state. Their influence continued to some extent even after the invasion by the Jungar Mongols in 1650 and the replacement of Jungar rule by the Manchus in 1756.

*563 In the checkered history of Sinkiang the Uighurs appear as 174 only one of many invading peoples. Despite the fact that in the 144 process of amalgamating with the indigenous population the Uighurs were able to impose their own language on the other peoples, the total importance of their influence should not be exaggerated. Physically the present population of the Tarim Basin is more akin to the Alpine than to the Mongoloid type. The culture, way of life, and other aspects of the present population also owe little to the Uighurs who rode out of Mongolia in the ninth century.

*563 The revived use of the name Uighur in Sinkiang, though justi-
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Uighur

fied by the fact that the Uighur language is used by the people who now once more call themselves Uighur, is primarily political in motivation. During the Ming Dynasty, when the Chinese had little contact with the area, they maintained in their translation bureau, the Szu I Kuan, one section dealing with "Moslem" people in general and another with the "Kao-Ch'ang" people of Turfan, who were clearly considered by the Ming Chinese to be identical with the Uighurs. During the Manchu period the population of the Tarim Basin was generally referred to in documents as *Ch'an Hui,* or Turbaned Moslems, and in the Chinese spoken langauge as *Ch'an-t'ou,* or Turbaned Heads. When foreigners first began to penetrate the area in numbers in the nineteenth century, they referred to the population either as "Turkis" or as "Sarts" and to the region as Turkistan. The word "Sart," widely used in Inner Asia, was adopted by the Russians as a general designation for settled people speaking a Turkic language. The word "Turkistan," a Persian expression meaning "land of the Turks," was first applied by Arab geographers of the ninth and tenth centuries to the area northeast of the Syr Darya, was later adopted by the Russians to designate most of their holdings in Central Asia, and was also used as an administrative term for part of Afghanistan. The British applied it to Chinese Central Asia, though the term has never had any administrative significance there, and also designated the population as Turkis.

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At a meeting held in Tashkent in 1921 a small number of emigrants from the Tarim Basin living in Soviet Central Asia demanded that the name Uighur be revived. In 1934 the Provincial Government of Sinkiang accepted a resolution from the Association for the Promotion of Uighur Education for a formal change to this name. A resolution adopting the new name was promulgated in that year under the signature of Sheng Shih-ts'ai and Khoja Niaz, a nationalist leader who had been instrumental in setting up the abortive East Turkistan Republic in the Turfan area in the early thirties. The growing use of the name Uighur is a measure of increasing national consciousness among people

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The original home of the Kirghiz was on the upper Yenisei River. The oldest Chinese references appear to be under the name *Chienchun*, at about the opening of the Christian era. The tribal or clan name *Burut* appears to confirm their northern origin, and an ancient connection with the ancestors of the Buryat Mongols. In 840, Kirghiz war bands defeated the Uighurs in Mongolia, causing some of the Uighurs to move south into Sinkiang. In the tenth century the Kirghiz themselves were defeated by the Khara Khitai. A part of the Kirghiz then moved back to the Yenisei River, and a part started on a gradual migration southwest toward the region which they inhabit today, where they are mentioned by a Turkish source of the sixteenth century. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz were conquered by the Russians in the nineteenth century, except for those who remained within the Manchu-Chinese hegemony.

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The Sinkiang Kirghiz officially number 65,248. Like those across the border, they are a mountain people. They are distributed from the Tekes Valley in the Tien Shan as far east as Aksu, and along the mountains west of the Sinkiang-Soviet border down to the Pamirs and the Karakoram Mountains.

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Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz are pastoral nomads; but they are Alpine nomads in contrast to the Kazakhs, who are steppe nomads. While some groups of the Kazakhs spend their winters in the protection of the foothills below the main mountain ranges, and while their winter quarters are owned by individual families, the Kirghiz establish their winter quarters on the banks of rivers and the whole clan occupies common winter quarters. Their summer pastures, unlike those of the Kazakhs, are high up in the mountains. Each clan moves freely up and down between winter quarters and high summer pastures, but is limited in horizontal movement by the presence of other clans in neighboring valleys. Basically, their cattle-breeding economy is the same as that of the Kazakhs, except that they own more horned cattle including yaks which are useful pack animals for mountain travel. They are considerably poorer in total number of livestock than the Kazakhs, but have somewhat more agriculture, some of it irrigated.

[231]

Kirghiz is a Turkic language, more closely related to Chaghatai 000

[p. 133]

Kirghiz
Mongol

*563 Kirghiz is a Turkic language, more closely related to Chaghatai
197 Turkish and Uighur than to Kazakh. The same language is spoken
212 by the Kirghiz on the Soviet side of the frontier. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz in Sinkiang are almost completely illiterate, and the only written form for the language is the Arabic alphabet; while in Soviet Kirghizia, illiteracy has decreased sharply with the introduction of the new Kirghiz alphabet, originally based on the Latin script but now using an adapted Cyrillic script.

Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz are nominal Mohammedans but with strong shamanistic holdovers. Radlov, a century ago, maintained that they considered themselves to be exemplary Moslems and were less tolerant of non-Moslems than the Kazakhs. This is evidenced in their folk literature in which the struggle against nonbelievers plays an important role.

*563 *Mongols.* The Mongols of Sinkiang, numbering some 68,000
101 people, are badly split up and unevenly distributed in widely
361 separated sections of the province. The largest concentrations are in the Chuguchak and Ili administrative regions, in each of which they number almost 25,000. Another group totaling about 13,000 is found in the highlands of the Kharashahr region. There are a few along the northeastern section of the frontier between Sinkiang and the Mongolian People's Republic, and other scattered fragments in the northern part of the province.

*563 The area most clearly dominated by the Mongols is along the
131 western end of the frontier with the Mongolian People's Repub-
361 lic. Yet the Mongols in this region constitute only a small fraction of the total number in the province, while the areas in which they are most heavily concentrated, such as Chuguchak and Ili, are in turn dominated by Kazakhs.

*563 The geographic fragmentation of the Mongols is explained
361 largely by their historical vicissitudes. They are divided into three
●174 major tribal groups: (1) the Western Mongols, who include the Ölöts, the Torguts, and the Khoshots; (2) the Chahar Mongols, and (3) the Urianghai Mongols; but the political units do not
*563 correspond with these tribal divisions. The Mongols are adminis-
631 tratively organized into three leagues and two special groups.

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1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Mongol

The Unen Susuktu League is made up of ten banners of Torguts who are widely distributed and separated from each other by non-Mongol peoples. The most important Torgut group is in the Tien Shan above the oasis of Kharashahr; others are on the northern skirts of the Tien Shan, and others on the southern slopes of the Altai. The Bato Setkhiltu League is composed of three banners of Khoshots on the Yulduz Plateau, in the heart of the central Tien Shan. The Ching Setkhiltu League includes three banners of Khoshots and seven of Urianghai, all located in the Chuguchak-Altai area. The two groups which are not included in "leagues" are the Chahars, who live in the Borotala Valley, on the way from Urumchi to Kulja, and the Ölöts, in the valleys of the Tekes and Kash Rivers in the Ili region. These complications of the league-and-banner system illustrate how effective it was as a Manchu-invented administrative device for weakening political unity among the Mongols.

Of the various tribal divisions of the Sinkiang Mongols, the Chahars were brought to Sinkiang from their old pastures in what is now Chahar Province in Inner Mongolia, shortly after the Manchus conquered Jungaria in the eighteenth century. As strangers who would not combine easily with the Western Mongols, they were strategically placed to command the main route between Urumchi and Ili. The Urianghai of Sinkiang are also not Western Mongols. As their name indicates, they are related to the tribes of the territory formerly called "Urianghai," later called "Tannu-Tuva," and eventually annexed by the Soviet Union. They originally spoke a Turkic language, becoming Mongolized only as late as the nineteenth century.

All other Sinkiang Mongols are Western Mongols. They are related, by the dialects which they speak and by historical association, to certain tribes of Western Outer Mongolia (Mongolian People's Republic), to the Mongols of Kokonor or Ch'inghai, on the northern side of the Tibetan plateau, and to the Kalmuks of the lower Volga, in Russia. Traditionally, the core of the Western Mongols was a tribe called Oirat, who in the fourteenth century migrated into Sinkiang from the Angara River, which flows

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Mongol

out of Lake Baikal into the Yenisei. A number of indications point to the probability that the majority of the Western Mongols are the descendants of tribes which originally were forest tribes and later moved into steppe country, where they became pastoral nomads.

The Western Mongols eventually formed a federation, referred to in the Chinese chronicles as the Oirat Federation, and also known as the Ölöt Federation. (The Mongol written form of Ölöt is *Ughelet.*) In the seventeenth century the Jungar[22] or "left wing" of this federation attempted to conquer the rest of the federation. It is from the Jungars that Jungaria is named. Of those who would not submit to the Jungars a large number, including many Torguts and Khoshots, fought their way westward through territory held by Turkic tribes until they reached the lower Volga, where they became known as "the Kalmuks," probably from a Turkic word meaning "the remnant." Eighty years later the Manchus invaded Sinkiang, defeated and almost annihilated the Jungars, and invited those who had resisted the Jungars to return. Some did, including the ancestors of most of the present Torguts of Sinkiang, while others remained in Russia.

In their economic life the Mongols of Sinkiang closely resemble the Kazakhs of Sinkiang. In their social organization, the hereditary Princes of the Mongols enjoy a much stronger and much more institutionalized feudal power than the sultans of the Kazakh tribes. One result of this difference is that poor Mongols are much poorer than poor Kazakhs. In addition, the Lama Buddhist religion of the Mongols is institutionalized to the point of constituting an ecclesiastical feudalism, with the result that the payment of dues and the making of special gifts for the upkeep of lama monasteries is another principal cause of the impoverishment of the Mongols as compared with the Kazakhs.

Until the Chinese Revolution of 1911, the Mongol Princes had virtual autonomy in administering their tribal territories. Under the Republic, the Chinese authorities have upheld the power

[22] In written Mongol, *jeghun gar*, "left hand"; translated as "left wing." In Mongol, "left" is equivalent to "eastern."

Tadjik

*563 The Sarikol Valley lies
131 close to the point where the Chinese,
Soviet and Afghan frontiers meet, but the frontiers are not well defined, have been disputed in the past, and may be disputed
[466] again. The Sarikolis are resentful of Chinese rule, especially because of the burdens imposed on them for supplying men and animals, without pay or for insufficient pay, to keep open a high mountain route between Sinkiang and India which is used by official travelers and to a smaller extent by traders. This discontent might take the form of an attempt to break away from Chinese rule, but if so it is not clear what other people they would prefer to join.

*563 There are two Iranian languages spoken in adjoining districts.
197 One is the Pamir group of dialects, spoken in the Wakhan Valley of Afghanistan and in the Mountain Badakshan Autonomous Region enclosed within the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic. The other is Tajik. Thus the question whether the Sarikolis speak Tajik or Pamir Iranian is important, but there is as yet no authoritative answer.

*563 The Sarikolis are said by Grenard to be a remnant of the early
174 inhabitants of Khotan who left documents dating from the period 200–400 A.D. in the Saka language, a now extinct Indo-Iranian tongue. T'ang Dynasty Chinese records likewise describe the Sarikolis as identical in external appearance and language with
[779] the inhabitants of Khotan. At that time they were devout adherents of Buddhism, maintaining no less than ten monasteries in their little kingdom. The Chinese first conquered the region in the T'ang Dynasty and established there a military post which marked the extreme point of Chinese military occupation in Central Asia.

*563 Subsequently the people were converted to Islam. They now
779 adhere to the Ismaili sect of the Moslem faith, which acknowl-
212 edges the Agha Khan in Bombay as its head. Culturally they are extremely backward, and are still without a written language.

*563 The people live for the most part as settled cultivators despite
241 the fact that the Sarikol Valley nowhere drops below 10,000 feet.
311 Irrigation is practiced, and the main crops are oats, barley, and
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[p. 138]

legumes. Despite difficult conditions, the land is apparently capable of supporting a larger population than it does at present. In the T'ang Dynasty, the population was of such a size as to support five hundred monks and a military force of no less than a thousand men. In the last century the population has declined, in part because of slave-hunting raids conducted by peoples from northern India before and after the time of Yakub Beg.

At present the settled population lives in close contact with pastoral Kirghiz. The relations between the two groups appear to be friendly. On the other hand the relations of the Tashkurgan population with the Chinese administration have not been good in recent years. There existed in the area an organization known as the Partisans of the Red Tents — made up of Kirghiz or Iranians or both — which opposed the provincial administration and was friendly toward the program of the Kulja group. Whether the name of the organization is due to a more decided political coloring cannot be ascertained as yet.

3. NATIONALITIES WITH NO REGIONAL OR TERRITORIAL BASE OF THEIR OWN

Chinese. It is noteworthy that though Sinkiang is a Chinese province, there is within it no significant territorial enclave in which the population majority is solidly Chinese. Ever since the foreign policy of China first penetrated Sinkiang in the second century B.C., the Chinese have intermittently figured among the important population groups in the area, but not as colonizers who displaced the native population from large blocks of territory. In between the periods of their ascendancy they either remained as an alien minority, returned to their homeland, or disappeared in the savage massacres which they often invited by their own misrule.

In the second half of the last century the Chinese were almost wiped out in the great rebellions which shook the whole northwestern section of the Manchu Empire. Since then they have filtered back into the area. With the exception of criminal exiles sent to Sinkiang under the Manchu regime, the Chinese who have

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Chinese

*563 174 167 come to live there in modern times divide sharply along provincial lines closely related to political history.

*563 Hunanese and men from the lower Yangtze Valley have long formed the bureaucratic elite; Tientsin men hold the strongest position in trade; Shansi men control the camel caravans carrying goods across Mongolia between Sinkiang and North China, and Kansu Province has been the principal source of farming colonists.

*563 167 When Tso Tsung-t'ang, a Hunanese general who had served under the Manchus against the Taiping rebels, undertook the task of suppressing the Moslem revolts, the army he commanded was composed largely of Hunanese. Many of them remained in Sinkiang after the completion of the campaign. Some became landowners and officials in the Provincial Government, in which they long exercised such a dominating influence that Sinkiang was called a "Hunanese colony."

Tso's expeditionary force was accompanied by large numbers of Tientsin merchants who sold to the army en route and then settled down in Sinkiang. They were later joined by their families, many of which brought more goods along with them, so that Tientsin traders soon appeared throughout the urban centers of the province.

During the rule of Yang Tseng-hsin, who remained as Governor of the Province after the Revolution of 1911, a number of fellow provincials from Yünnan came to take advantage of his position in the province. A few Kansu Chinese came in during the ascendancy of Chin Shu-jen. Later some 10,000 Chinese troops from Manchuria, interned in Siberia when they had retreated after fighting against the Japanese, were "repatriated" by the Soviet Union to Sinkiang after Sheng Shih-ts'ai, a native of Manchuria, became Governor of Sinkiang. Still later refugees from the Honan famine of 1944 were transported into the province by the Central Government authorities to take up land expropriated from Kazakhs.

*563 779 167 In addition to the above-mentioned Chinese, other groups, distinguished from the main body by their adherence to the Mos-

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Great Russians
Manchu

citizens of China or of the Soviet Union. An important subsidiary problem is the fact that when a Russian living abroad is granted a Soviet passport he is not automatically free to return to the Soviet Union at his own discretion. In the past, the Soviet authorities in China have at times given Soviet passports and protection to Russian exiles, without granting them permission to return to the Soviet Union. Turkic nationalists like Masud Sabri consider that the Russians have Soviet citizenship and hence cannot be counted among the nationalities in Sinkiang. In this attitude there is a suggestion that Soviet citizenship is incompatible with Sinkiang residence. Yet it is probable that many Russians would like to have both. Given an administration which can make use of their abilities, the Russians, because of their technical qualifications, could make important contributions to the progress of the area. This is the best they can hope for in an area where they can never represent more than a minute fraction of the population.

563* 648

Manchus. The Manchus of Sinkiang include the Solons and the Sibos, who are not, tribally speaking, true Manchus. All three belong to the Manchu tribal coalition, which conquered all of China and all but disappeared from sight when their rule was terminated in 1911. Only in Sinkiang have the Manchus been able to preserve the characteristics which set them off from other peoples. Manchus, Solons, and Sibos are listed together as numbering 12,362 people.

563* 101 161

The first significant numbers of Manchus came to Sinkiang in the second half of the eighteenth century in the course of the campaigns against the Jungar Mongols. Following their victory the Manchus attempted to consolidate their holdings by placing administrators and troops in key positions. A city was built in the strategic Ili Valley as the center from which to administer the region as a whole and to command the Manchu garrisons stationed throughout the province. In contrast to most garrisons, which consisted of a few isolated troops, stationed in important urban centers and forbidden by Manchu dynastic law to engage

563* 167 174

*563 167 174 in either agriculture or trade, those in the Ili area were established as military colonists. One garrison consisted of Solons from the upper course of the Nonni River in Northwestern Manchuria, famed for their skill in archery. The Solons were regarded by the Manchus as a valuable auxiliary tribe, but their original language, as still spoken in Manchuria, is different from Manchu, though related to it. Another garrison consisted of Sibos, from Central Manchuria, who were often employed in the province as scribes and clerks. The Sibos are also not regarded as "true" Manchus. They appear to be of captive or semislave origin, and were perhaps a tribe akin to the Manchus who resisted Manchu unification at the beginning of the seventeenth century. They had a reputation for not succumbing to Chinese influence and for retaining command of their own language and customs. Both groups were given rich lands in the Ili Valley, the Solons on the right bank of the river and the Sibos on the left bank.

*563 174 161 361 101 During the 1911 Revolution most of the city Manchus in Sinkiang were massacred, but the village communities defended themselves and survived. At present the Solons number 2500 and the Sibos 9200 out of the total number of "Manchus" in the province. With the exception of some 1700 in the Chuguchak region, virtually all of those classed as Manchus are in the Ili Valley. Here they continue to predominate in a few villages on either side of the river in territory that is predominately Kazakh or Uighur.

*563 241 231 191 For the most part, the Manchus live by agriculture — though this is supplemented also by sheep raising and hunting. To a considerable extent they have succeeded in maintaining their traditional way of life, even to the point of preserving their military ability. Nevertheless they are also in the forefront of current developments in the province. Many speak other languages beside their own, including Russian. At one time there was even talk among them of replacing their Manchu writing with a script based on the Latin alphabet. The Sibos in particular have been highly praised for distinguishing themselves in carrying out tasks assigned them by the Kulja regime, such as delivering grain and clover.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Manchu
Uzbeg

assigned them by the Kulja regime, such as delivering grain and clover. 000

Despite the fact that Sheng Shih-ts'ai split these people into three distinct groups — Manchu, Solon, and Sibo — they display so little difference that these divisions may be considered of minor importance. The original differences in speech appear to have been lessened by the use of Manchu as an official language in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the three forms as now spoken in Sinkiang are mutually comprehensible. The literary language of all three is Manchu. In other respects too the points of similarity are such that the three groups must be considered as essentially one people. 563* 197

Despite their small numbers, the military ability, tradition of service in administration, and generally forward-looking attitude of the Manchus make them a force to be reckoned with in the province. They appear to have adopted a position in support of the Kulja program against the former Chinese administration. To be sure, their long-term existence as a people is in doubt. Yet their immediate future must involve a measure of local self-government if they are not to constitute a thorn in the flesh of the surrounding majorities. 563* 181

Uzbeks. The Uzbeks in Sinkiang are scattered outposts of the main population group in the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic. All told there are only 8000 of them in the province. They reside for the most part in the cities — as merchants, traders, and anti-Soviet refugees — more than three quarters of them being located in Kashgar, Kulja, and Chuguchak. 563* 101 161

The Uzbek nation as a whole is now composed of two main ethnic layers: the old Iranian groups which inhabited the southern Inner Asian oasis region, and the Turkish tribes of the so-called "Uzbek confederation" which in the sixteenth century conquered this region. Under the influence of the culture of the Iranian agricultural oasis dwellers, the Uzbeks soon abandoned their nomadic economy and went over to a settled, agricultural 563* 197 174

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Uzbeg
Kazan Tatar

*563 197 174 economy. They absorbed many elements of the higher Iranian culture which they had conquered, to such a degree that for a time Persian was the only language in which literature was written and in which the courts functioned; though the Turkic Uzbek language prevailed over Iranian as the language of the common people.

*563 648 101 In the nineteenth century, most of the territory of the Uzbeks was conquered by the Russians. Several Khanates remained nominally independent, but were actually in a vassal relationship to Russia. After the Soviet Revolution the Uzbeks first formed part of the Turkistan Soviet Republic, and later were reorganized in the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, a constituent Union Republic of the Soviet Union. The Uzbeks comprise the majority of the population in their own Republic. They live also in scattered groups in the Tajik, Kazakh, and Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republics, and in northern Afghanistan as well as in Sinkiang.

[197] Uzbek is a Turkic language, but it has become strongly Iranicized in the cities. Actually there are two Uzbek languages: the Iranicized city Uzbek, and the more purely Turkic country Uzbek.

[779] While the Uzbeks are Sunni Mohammedans, the mystical teachings of the Sufis were of considerable importance in their religious development.

*563 161 361 101 871 *Tatars.* The Tatars in Sinkiang number less than 5000 people. More than four fifths are concentrated in the two cities of Kulja and Chuguchak. Some are descendents of Tatar traders who settled in Sinkiang in the days of the Tsar. Others derive from anti-Soviet refugees who entered the province after 1917. Despite their small numbers they exercise considerable influence, as the group with the highest average of education among the Turkish-speaking peoples.

*563 174 Most Tatars come from the Volga region which today comprises the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. They are the descendants of the inhabitants of the Kazan Khanate which was formed in 1438 on the territory of the former Volga Bulgarian Empire as a result of the collapse of the Golden Horde.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1
Kazan Tatar

In 1552 Kazan was conquered by the Moscow State, and from this time on the Tatars have been under Russian rule. In 1920 they received autonomous status and formed the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, in which they comprise the majority of the population. Considerable numbers of them live also in the Bashkir A.S.S.R. and in the Molotov, Gorki, and Saratov districts of the R.S.F.S.R., as well as in Sinkiang.

Before the revolution the main economy of the Tatars was based on agriculture, but many individual Tatars were active traders, especially as middlemen for Russian firms in Turkic speaking areas, such as Russian and Chinese Inner Asia.

Tatar is a Turkic language and belongs to the northwestern group of this language family.

The Tatars are Sunni Mohammedans. They were converted to Islam in the tenth century. After the Russian conquest of the Volga region, attempts were made by Russian colonizers to convert them to Christianity by offering economic advantages to converts, but success was negligible.

The older Tatar literature represents a comparatively small body of primarily religious literature. In the second half of the nineteenth century a secular, rational, realistic, and increasingly nationalist trend made itself felt under the influence of Russian culture. In the twentieth century, Tatar literature — like Russian literature — has been strongly preoccupied with practical political questions, and the various literary schools have been political schools rather than aesthetic movements. Today the Tatars in the Soviet Union possess a flourishing literature, strongly influenced by Western forms. The complicated Arabic script which had been such a bar to the elimination of illiteracy was abandoned in favor of a Latinized script which, in the late thirties, was in turn replaced by a Cyrillic script.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

423 efficient use of draft animals, and it is a problem how to employ efficiently, on a tiny farm, the labor potential of the large Uighur family.

Trade and Finance

439 Today as throughout the past the biggest share of Sinkiang's
487 trade is with territories to the west rather than with China, which lies to the east. In trade with Sinkiang the Soviet Union has inherited an advantage created by geography. The richest parts of Sinkiang lie along the western frontier, and goods from these districts can reach the Soviet Union by relatively easy trade routes. It will be difficult to change the circuit of trade even by building rail and road communications with China, because these new trade routes would have to cross many hundred miles of barren land in which there are no markets and no pay loads to be picked up.

438 Both farming and herding contribute to the trade of Sinkiang.
174 Theoretically, both oasis farmers and steppe or alpine herdsmen can live without trade. Each way of life is capable, at a pinch, of providing everything that is needed to sustain the community. Historically, however, no long-continued period of "pinch" of this kind can be identified. There are proofs of trade from the Neolithic Age onward. In practice, only farmers and herdsmen who are so poor that they have no surplus whatever to sell are "pure" farmers and herdsmen. When the Chinese first came to Sinkiang in the Han Dynasty, the annals record that they found trade between oases: the little "kingdoms" of Shan-shan (near Lob Nor), Pu-li, and I-nai drew grain from the larger oases of Charchen, Yarkand, and Kashgar. Since oases like Charklik and Turfan frequently fell under the rule of the nomad Hsiungnu, there must

wheat, 25 of barley, or 26 of corn. The field survey just quoted showed that the average size of farm cultivated by one household was 25.8 *charaks*, the largest 100 *charaks*, and the smallest six. Measurement on the spot indicated that one *charak* of seed would sow about .18 acres, so that the average size of farm in these villages worked out at four and a half acres.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

have been periods of three-cornered trade between the Chinese, the nomads, and the oases, alternating with periods of war.

It is hard to disentangle early trade from early diplomacy. In one aspect, the celebrated Silk Route trade through Inner Asia was a long-distance trade in a luxury commodity passing over the oases rather than entering into their economic life. At the same time, however, oasis rulers carried on trade in a disguised form, by sending embassies with gifts to the Chinese Court. The Chinese sent back more valuable gifts, since this was cheaper than military expeditions as a way of entering the oases and holding a flank position against the Hsiungnu nomads. Some at least of the silks sent as presents must have been sent on by the oasis rulers as diplomatic gifts in the other direction, to the kingdoms in Russian Inner Asia, Afghanistan, and Iran. Similar presents must also have been sent to the nomads, since the oases were caught in a squeeze between nomads and Chinese, and while nomads and Chinese were maneuvering for power, the little kingdoms were maneuvering for appeasement.

The later forms of trade take familiar forms: where commodities of trade value can be produced, they make it possible to abandon a subsistence economy and to buy food and other necessities. At the present time there is trade in grain from oases which do not have large towns to oases which do — from Chira to Khotan, from Kharakash to Kashgar, and even from Yarkand, where the urban population is smaller in proportion to the farming area, to Kashgar which is the largest city in the province. Komul, which has an annual deficiency of 50,000 bushels, buys grain from Muleiho and Kuchengtze. Turfan, where the food-growing area is reduced by the growing of raisin grapes, buys grain from the nearby oasis of Toksun. Grain movements in Jungaria cover still greater distances. Grain is sent more than 400 miles from Kulja to Urumchi, this being possible because for several months in the winter the road is covered with packed snow, over which carts move easily, carrying a good pay load. The Altai brings grain from Kuchengtze, and beyond, which is possible because of cheap

CHAPTER VI Social Structures: The Living Past

The Feudal Heritage

174 HALF A CENTURY AGO, when Western travelers in Sinkiang were most frequent, stagnation was the aspect which they found most striking in the societies of both the oasis dwellers and the steppe nomads. Here in the heart of Asia, time seemed to be standing still. In human society there seemed to be an unending continuity and repetition, but no evolution.

Yet the archaeologists among these travelers, by their startling discoveries of the past as reflected in wall paintings and manuscripts, revealed that the social history of Sinkiang, like its cultural history, had been complex. Here, for twenty centuries of recorded history, the civilizations of India, Iran, and China had interacted. The cultures of settled peoples and pastoral nomads had never ceased to work upon each other. A number of the religions of Europe and Asia had here lived for long periods side by side. To this day, no other Chinese province is so diversified ethnologically, linguistically, in the political importance of its religions, and in the contrasts between the economic systems enclosed within its administrative framework.

Cycles of Centralization and Decentralization

178 Throughout their long history the societies of Sinkiang have, in fact, been climbing the ladder of evolution; but, like other societies, they have at times slipped back several rungs down the

[p. 182]

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ladder. This alternation between evolution and devolution can be most simply described in terms of an alternating centralization and decentralization of social and political structures.

The geographical factors favored decentralization. A population separated by deserts and scattered in oases, mainly self-sufficient and similar to each other, tends to develop social microcosms with no strong superstructure to unite them into a larger state. Similarly in the wide steppe the tribal needs of pastoral nomads are satisfied by the formation of small social units. The evolution of larger, more centralized units requires the stimulus of interaction between the pastoral society and urban and agricultural society. In Sinkiang, the most important agency in keeping the pendulum of social change swinging has therefore been the alternation between centralization under powerful empires and decentralization, with reversion to small social units, in periods between great empires.

This alternation, in turn, was influenced by a recurring phenomenon: the tendency of the ability to conquer to outrun the ability to integrate economically and to administer efficiently. Great empires repeatedly broke up because, instead of becoming more cohesive through the circulation of trade, they found it impossible to organize a profitable interdependence of production in different regions. The mechanism of administration was so crude that too high a proportion of revenue was eaten up by the costs of collecting revenue. The costs and hazards of transport were so high that there was always a tendency for trade to be profitable only if the goods could be virtually confiscated from the original producer.

To a large extent, ancient and even medieval trade was carried on in things which the original maker, grower, miner of metals, or hunter of valuable furs did not produce for profit, but surrendered as tribute under some form of organized compulsion. Empires based on the economics of compulsion fell apart all the more readily, when they lost the power to compel, because in each of their component parts the really essential economic life was relatively self-contained.

174 In periods both of centralization and decentralization the so
178 cieties of Sinkiang have reflected different aspects of a slowly evolving feudalism. We have no historical description of a truly "primitive" society in Sinkiang; though the Stone Age finds prove that primitive peoples did once exist there, as in China itself. But the oasis "kingdoms" which the Chinese described some two thousand years ago were feudal, rather than primitive or tribal both in their structure of rank and power and in such relationships as war and the collection of tribute. Nor do the Chinese chronicles describe steppe nomadism at a truly primitive level but rather at the level of the formation of war bands and the development of early institutions to regularize personal loyalty which can be called "early feudal" or "proto-feudal." [1]

In general, it can be said that both the oasis society and the steppe nomad society tended to evolve toward higher feudal forms of development in periods of centralization, and to devolve back toward earlier forms in periods of decentralization. The main difference between the oasis society and the steppe society was that devolution in the steppe society tended to be more extreme, and to fall back to the war-band stage of development at the very threshold of feudalism.

174 A description of the societies of Sinkiang in terms of feudalism
566 must in itself be a test of theories of feudalism. Many Western
114 writers on feudalism are not prepared to admit that there is any society in Asia that can properly be described as "feudal." Lack of material from Asia in Western comparative studies of feudalism is, however, in the main attributable to the lag in Western studies in the social sciences as a whole in Asia.

A more serious difficulty is the fact that there are no criteria of

[1] An interesting attempt to describe what may be called the "process of emergence" of feudalism has been made by Professor S. Yushkov in his article "On the question of the pre-feudal ('barbarian') state," in *Questions of History*, No. 7 of 1946, Moscow, 1946, pp. 45–64 (in Russian). The article is of particular importance because it attempts to compare as "contemporary" (in Toynbee's sense) material taken from ninth and tenth century Kievan Russia, sixth to ninth century Anglo-Saxon England, and eleventh and twelfth century Mongolia.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

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feudalism to which equal acceptance is given by all students of the subject. Thus Dr. Helen Maud Cam, writing of English feudalism, points out that "the social, the economic, the legal and the constitutional historian approach it with different mental assumptions." To the social historian, it is the consecration of inequality or the insistence on subordination. To the economic historian it is the organization of land cultivation by the exercise of rights over persons. To the legal historian it is the contractual relationship guaranteed by land and determined by tenure. To the constitutional historian landholding is the source of political power, and government functions are bound up with land tenure.

"Thus in studying different periods," she concludes, "the social, the economic, the legal and the constitutional historian will each apply his own test to the state of things he finds, and declare that this is, or is not, 'genuine feudalism,' while his conclusions will be hotly questioned by those who use a different criterion." [2]

On the other hand a great deal of the most important modern literature on Inner Asia, including Sinkiang, is in Russian; and even in Tsarist times the vocabulary of feudalism was usual among Russian scholars in dealing with the societies of Asia. With the Soviet writers, this practice becomes universal. On the other side of Sinkiang, Chinese sources are of the greatest importance for early and medieval history, and Chinese scholars are doing increasingly important work in the analysis both of historical data and of contemporary problems. The terms of feudalism are quite as important in the work of these Chinese scholars as they are in the Russian literature. In China today, scholars are divided by a controversy similar to the famous nineteenth-century debate between "Westerners" and "Slavophiles" in Russia. As in Russia, the heart of the discussion is whether the Chinese culture is so much a thing apart that it is inappropriate to use the terms used in discussing other cultures, or whether the phenomena of Chi-

[2] Helen Maud Cam, "The Decline and Fall of English Feudalism," in *Liberties and Communities in Medieval England*, Cambridge, 1944, p. 203; paper originally read before the International History Conference at Zürich in 1938.

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566 nese history are comparable to other historical phenomena, and
• 174 can therefore be intelligibly described in universally accepted
114 terms. Western scholars, even when dealing with an outlying province like Sinkiang, must keep abreast of the discussions among Chinese social scientists.

The Residue of History

175 In their first great historical period of penetration into Inner Asia under the Han Dynasty, for about two hundred years before and two hundred years after the birth of Christ, the Chinese were concerned primarily with defending the frontier of civilization in China against barbarian incursions from Mongolia and Inner Asia. The maintenance of this frontier was, for the state itself, a perpetual expense, not a profitable expansion. Trade there was, and individuals grew wealthy by it, but the Chinese were not "imperialists" planting the flag farther and farther forward in order to have trade follow it. They were not opening up colonial conquests in order to get at bulk supplies of cheap raw materials — the costs of transport were too high — nor was there a surplus of production in China forcing them to seek new markets.[3]

The curiosities and luxuries brought to China through the Inner Asian trade contributed to the ostentation of the court. On the other hand the commodities going by caravan from China to Inner Asia consisted in large part of tribute collected by nobles and by the state, before being consigned to the hands of privileged merchants, and therefore were in fact a tax on the people. Certainly the volume of goods leaving China was not determined by the buying power of Inner Asia, because the Chinese records

[3] Frederick J. Teggart, in his *Rome and China: A Study of Correlations in Historical Events*, Berkeley, 1939, lays great emphasis on "interruption of trade" along the Silk Route through Inner Asia as a cause of "correlated" wars on the Roman and Chinese frontiers, but does not raise the question of the difference between profitable expansive trade and trade which, though politically promoted in order to keep warlike barbarians contented, is a drain on the civilized country providing commodities for the barbarians.

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The latest phase of Central Asian art is most amply illustrated in the Turfan region. The oases of Turfan and Kara Khoja, strategically placed for intercourse both with China to the east and the grazing lands of Jungaria to the north, served as the seats of more or less powerful kingdoms from before the beginning of the present era. The various archaeological explorations found not only two old capitals, Yar Khoto ("the city on the ravine") and Khocho (Kao ch'ang in Chinese; also Idikutshahri and Dakianus) but a number of semi-isolated monastic establishments in the environs. Pieces of sculpture, paintings on paper and silk and various other small objects of art were purchased from local treasure seekers as well as directly excavated. In the circumstances, the dating of many finds is only conjectural. Several markedly Hellenistic heads fall in this category.

Certain buildings within the old city of Khocho and a few of the sites at Toyuk, Chikkan Kol, and Bezeklik have been clearly shown to belong to the sixth and seventh century. The extant wall paintings in these ruins are on the whole similar to those of the Kucha and Kharashahr oases. In some of these temples, painted medallions on the ceilings substitute for the earlier carved-out imitations of the lantern roof.

From the middle of the eighth century Turfan came under the rule of the Uighur Turks. Before coming to Turfan the ruling Uighur Khans had been converted to Manichaeism, a religion of Persian origin based on the opposition of Light (signifying Good) and Darkness (symbolizing Evil). In Turfan the Uighurs appear to have patronized Buddhism as well as Manichaeism and seem to have permitted Syrian or Nestorian Christians to follow their own faith. A mural which seems to be Christian in character was found covered up by an inner wall in a small temple outside the city walls of Khocho. A priest, in vestments which are clearly neither Buddhist nor Manichaean, holds incense in one hand, a vessel of holy water in the other. He appears to be blessing three persons of smaller stature who approach him, each carrying a long-stemmed leafy branch. The worshipers have the slant eyes of the Orient but the priest appears Byzantine.

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172 A.D.) cover a wide array of subjects associated with the Mahayana
532 sect of Buddhism. There are representations of the particular
heavens associated with various deities, and elaborate depictions
778 of the tortures of hell. Chinese motifs appear in every context:
deities sit in the windows of Chinese-style houses; children with
Chinese-style pigtails sport on balconies. Particularly frightful
demons with flowing hair, popping eyes and several arms are also
common.

172 The end of Buddhist art in Turfan appears to have come with
532 the invasion of Jenghis Khan and the period of Mongol wars. The
Uighur kings, who held on to the area a short while longer by
submitting to Mongol suzerainty, turned with the Mongols to
Islam. But great numbers of the people remained Buddhists
right up to the fifteenth century. Many of the temples at such
places as Bezeklik and the Sangim Gorge probably continued in
use as places of worship and pilgrimage to that time.

174 Between the early murals of Miran and the latest work in the
Turfan area lie almost a thousand years. Throughout this millen-
nium a characteristic form of temple art flourished in the oasis
kingdoms and reached occasional heights of outstanding excel-
lence. This remarkable stream of creative production brings into
question previous references to the area as no more than a high-
way connecting the ancient Eastern and Western Worlds, and to
its civilization as the culture of the Silk Road. Considering the
relatively small dimensions of international trade in ancient
times, it would seem extremely unlikely that several dozen or
even several hundred camel caravans a year could have supplied
the economic foundations for such extensive artistic and religious
enterprise. On the other hand the region abounds in evidences of
much wider areas of cultivation supporting a much larger popula-
tion in former periods than today. This agricultural prosperity,
based on the known richness of the soil when properly irrigated,
would go much further than the commerce of the silk route to
explain not only why the Tarim Basin could afford so many mon-
asteries and temples, but why it attracted a continuous stream of
invaders.

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Western scholars have generally approached Sinkiang as a peripheral area, a sort of transmission belt through which classical Greek forms, motifs, and techniques were passed on to China and Japan. Later on recognition was granted to Persian and Indian influences, and even traces of contact with Byzantium. Attention has also been devoted to the westward expansion of elements of Chinese civilization. The accumulated archaeological evidence, however, suggests the need for revision of these older attitudes. At first (as at Niya and Miran), a mere outpost of the Hellenistic world of western Asia, the Tarim Basin later developed a unique synthesis of alien and indigenous cultural elements. The Kyzyl tableaux and mountain landscapes, the Rustam from Dandan Oilik, the goddesses and friars of Shorchuk, the Uighur nobles of Bezeklik — to cite only a few examples — could have been created nowhere else in the world. On grounds of the distinctive character and the intrinsic value of its productions, Buddhist Central Asia clearly ranks as an art center of international importance.

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APPENDIX II Literature and Oral Art of the Uighurs, Kazakhs, and Kirghiz

174 THERE IS very little written literature in the Uighur language and almost all that remains comes from periods before the Mongol conquest. The earliest known documents relate to the period of the first Uighur campaign in Jungaria and are purely religious. Most of them are undated fragments and their approximate sequence can be deduced only from the historical sources which give some — though quite contradictory — information as to the religious development of the Uighurs after they moved south. It is known that after they appeared on the territory of present-day Sinkiang, in the eighth century, they were converted to Manichaeism by Soghdian missionaries. That Manichaeism was widespread among the early Uighurs in Sinkiang is confirmed by a number of religious documents, written in Uighur, propounding the Manichaean dogma and prayers.

174 538 779 The main Uighur Manichaean document is the *Khuastuanit*, a Manichaean prayer of penitence which according to Radlov surpasses in linguistic purity almost all other early Turkic documents.[1] The *Khuastuanit* is of great importance not only from the standpoint of linguistics, as an early document of the Uighur language, but also through its content, which is an aid to the understanding of Manichaeism. Since the prayer contains not only

[1] V. V. Radlov, *Chuastuanit, das Bussgebet der Manichäer*, St. Petersburg, 1909, p. iv.

[p. 240]

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the enumeration of the sins of the penitent but also the list of the dogmas of Manes against which he has sinned, it can serve today as a kind of catechism of this Western religion as seen by the Turks.

An important characteristic of these Manichaean documents is that they are written in a new script, hitherto unknown to the Turks, and radically different from that of the Orkhon inscriptions. This script was taken over by the Uighurs with the adoption of Manichaeism. It was originally a Western (Semitic) script, and subsequently played a considerable role in the cultural history of Asia, since it was adopted later by the Mongols, after their conquest of the Uighurs. With the Mongols it spread again to the West and was later adopted by the Manchus, with some modifications.[2] It became known as the "Uighur" script and was used by the Uighurs until they became Moslems, when it was displaced by the Arabic script.[3]

In the eleventh century two other cultural streams made themselves felt among the Uighurs, who by then were settled in the Tarim Basin. One, Nestorian Christianity, was from a Western source, as was Manichaeism, and the other, Buddhism, from a Southern source.[4] According to the eleventh century work on the Turkic languages by Mahmud Al Kashgari, the bulk of the Uighurs at that time still represented a dam against the further spread of Islam,[5] although some Islamic influence was already visible. The existence of Christianity among the Uighurs is testified to by a number of fragmentary texts, such as the "Adoration of the Magi."[6]

The prevalence of Buddhism is indicated by a number of fragments containing philosophical treatises dealing with Buddhist theology and fragments from the literature of the Lives of Bud-

[2] V. Bartold, *Zwoelf Vorlesungen ueber die Geschichte d. Tuerken Mittelasiens*, Berlin, 1935, pp. 50–52.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 132.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 58.
[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 132.
[6] F. W. K. Mueller, *"Uigurica," Abhandlungen der Kgl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil. Hist. Klasse*, 1908, Abh. II, pp. 5–10.

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dha.[7] The religious literature is not original but is composed of translations from foreign sources.

In contrast to these religious documents almost the only remaining secular work is the *Kudatku Bilik*, written toward the end of the eleventh century by a consciously secular literary man, Yussuf from Balasagun, a chancellor (*hijib*) at the court of Boghra Khan. The name of the book signifies "happiness bringing knowledge" or "the knowledge befitting a ruler" (*kut* meaning happiness, but frequently used also in *Kudatku Bilik* in the meaning of "majesty").[8] The work itself is purely didactic in character, concerned with the duties of a ruler, and clad in the form of the instructions given by the Wazir Öktülmish to his son who is about to enter the service of a Khan. Such works were extremely popular during this period in the Orient, as they were in the Middle Ages in the West. But *Kudatku Bilik* differs from Western didactic works, which usually abounded in historical and legendary material. Such historical material is completely absent in *Kudatku Bilik*, which is purely allegorical. The work is concerned with the duties of the ruler toward the ruled, the qualifications for the various classes of officials and an evaluation of a number of moral precepts. Though it is obviously written under the influence of Mohammedanism, it is not a glorification of Islam and the religious content appears superficial and external. The only religious content is in the introduction, which contains the traditional formulae of glorification of God and the Prophet, and in a few pious exclamations in the body of the text.

Kudatku Bilik provides much interesting data about the social and political life of the Uighurs at the end of the eleventh century. From it we learn that Uighur society of Kashgar was divided into three components: the simple people, the *kara am* (compare the Kazakh *kara suyek*); the scientists (*tapukci*), and the government officials. To the *kara am* belonged: merchants (*satikci*), peasants (*taranchi*), and the cattle breeders (*igdishchi*). To the

[7] *Cf.* Mueller, *op. cit.*, 1908, pp. 11–45; 1910, Abh. III.
[8] Bartold, *op. cit.*, pp. 135–136.

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tapukci belonged: the Seid (*alevi*) physicians (*öteci*), conjurers (*apsunci*) and astrologers (*münejim*). To the government officials belonged: the Khan, the Wazirs, the army leaders (*su bashi*), the scribes (*bitikci*), the ambassadors (*yolaoci*) and the guards (*kapukci*).[9] Descriptions are given of the characteristics of each of these groups and their usefulness to the ruler. There are prescribed attitudes toward the peasants, the nomads, the artisans and the merchants.

About the nomads, the work has the following to say:

There also exist cattle breeders,
They watch after their herds of horses.
This is a very truthful group of people, but wisdom they do not possess,
Treat them well. . . .
Mix with them, carry on acquaintance, eat and drink with them,
Allow them to live as it behooves humans to live.
If you mix with them, keep yourself in hand.
Associate and treat them well.
Because they are constantly without laws and without directing thread.
Speak to them good words, but call them not friends.[10]

About the peasants there are the following utilitarian remarks:

These people are necessary to you,
so that your stomach's needs may be supplied. . . .

Associate with them,
speak good to them with your tongue. . . .[11]

A quite different attitude is expressed toward the artisans and the merchants:

[9] H. Vambery, *Uigurische Sprachdokumente*, Innsbruck, 1870, pp. 5–6.
[10] M. Abdykalykov, and A. Pankratova, eds., *History of the Kazakh S.S.R.*, Alma-Ata, 1943, p. 72 (in Russian).
[11] Vambery, *op. cit.*, pp. 32–33.

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538 Another kind of people are the artisans,
They create art with their hands, so as to earn their living.
They are all indispensable to you,
Cultivate them, they will bring you advantage, O Great One,

From them come all the works of the earth,
How many amazing things they make.
With them you must associate and you must treat them well.
Make them happy and live yourself in happiness.
If they work for you, — give them gifts without fail,
Give them food and drink. Give them abundant food.[12]

As to the merchants, the ruler is advised to

Deal with them, hold open your gates for them.
Treat them well
so that your good name will spread.
It is these who will carry your name through the world,
who will spread your reputation, good or bad. . . .
If you want to be sure to become famous,
let the merchant have just pay for his goods.
If you want to create a good name for yourself, O Lord,
treat well the caravan people.[13]

Of striking interest is the rational philosophy which permeates the whole work. Knowledge and science are not only highly praised and recommended to the ruler as his most trusted guides, but are considered more important than princely glory and riches. The following section, entitled "Man's honor derives only from knowledge and understanding," may serve as an example of the high regard for learning expressed in *Kudatku Bilik:*

He created fire, wind, water, and earth,
And to Man He gave virtue, knowledge and intellect. . . .

Consider knowledge as high, intellect as great
With those two things He has elevated His slave. . . .

[12] Abdykalykov, Pankratova, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
[13] Vambery, *op. cit.*, pp. 134–135.

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Know the sense of knowledge, know what knowledge is.
Evil will disappear because of Man's knowledge.
The ignorant ones are full of evil
If Man will not heal this evil, he will surely die.
So be it, O ignorant Man, cure your evil,
Heal the ignorant ones, O my knowing friend.[14]

This gives testimony to the high level of education among the ruling circles of Uighur society at this time, which is no doubt a result of the influx of Arabic science with Islamization. In spite of this new scientific attitude, strong remnants of the old Turkic shamanism are still found. Thus, the ruler is advised to treat the physician well, because he can heal him of disease. Following this however, the ruler is also advised to treat the faith healers (*mukasim*) well, because, while the physician heals disease with medicine, the shaman heals it with a talisman.[15]

Kudatku Bilik must have been extremely popular and it probably spread all over the Turkic speaking world. We have verses from the *Kudatku Bilik* on a piece of pottery which was found in *Saraijik* (Saraichikovskoe) at the mouth of the Ural River on the Caspian Sea.[16] Recently, a work of a somewhat later date, but representing the same kind of dry didacticism, was found in Turkey, the *Hibat al-haqa'iq*.[17] This discovery showed that *Kudatku Bilik* was not an isolated occurrence. It is said that in the eleventh century Kashgar was the center of Turkic culture for the entire Inner Asian region. When, however, the Turks regained sovereign status after the Mongol epoch, this cultural center shifted west, and there are no further literary works preserved from Kashgar, or any other Uighur territory.

Only the period of the strong Uighur Empire produced literary works, influenced both by Western (Iranian, Arabic) and Southern (Indian) culture. After the eleventh century we have no

[14] Vambery, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
[15] Vambery, *op. cit.*, pp. 136–137.
[16] *Zapiski kollegii Vostokovedov*, XXI, p. 42, quoted by Bartold, *op. cit.*, p. 136.
[17] Comp. J. Deny, "*A propos d'un traite de morale turc en écriture ouigoure*," *Revue du Monde Musulman*, 60, 1925, pp. 189–234.

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174 538 literary documents. From then on, the bulk of Uighur cultural production was limited to oral art, as was that of the nomadic Turks of Inner Asia. Since the Uighurs are the only major Turkic people who did not come in direct contact with the Russians (with the exception of the Taranchi in the Ili Valley), Uighur oral art has not been recorded to the same extent by Russian linguists and ethnographers as has the oral art of the other Inner Asian Turks, and we are limited to a few scattered texts of the Tarim Basin Uighurs — the texts of Le Coq, Grenard, Jarring and Katanov-Menges. Most Russian texts have been taken down from the Ili Taranchi (the texts of Radlov, Pantusov and Malov) but, since the Taranchi were separated from the Uighurs only in the eighteenth century, they share a common heritage of folklore. Since their settlement in the Ili Valley, however, a new and additional body of oral art has grown among the Taranchi, dealing primarily with their fate as exiles and their oppression by the Chinese.

538 177 The following genres exist in Uighur oral art: (1) proverbs, (2) popular tales, (3) fairy tales and legends, (4) songs, and (5) historical tales about the Ili Valley (Taranchi tales).

Proverbs give us not only an indication of Uighur customs and ethics, but also reveal strong influences of other cultures, particularly the cultures of the neighboring nomadic Turks and of Iran and India. Iranian influence is strongest and is evidenced in a proverb such as: "Forty people ate forty sheep in one day" (said about careless housekeepers),[18] which is almost literally the same as an Afghan proverb.[19]

Other proverbs clearly hark back to Indian tales of the *Panchatantra* and the *Jatakam*. So the proverb "Waiting for the testes of the male goat, the wolf died of hunger,"[20] goes back to the sixth tale of Part 2 of the *Panchatantra*, which tells of the greedy jackall *Pralobhaka* ("the greedy one") who waited for fifteen years for the testes of the bull to fall off and in his greed forgot to catch

[18] A. v. Le Coq, *Sprichwoerter und Lieder aus der Gegend von Turfan*, Baessler Archiv, Leipzig-Berlin, 1911, p. 41.

[19] Thorburn, *Bannu or Our Afghan Frontier*, London, 1876, 250, No. 29, quoted by Le Coq, *op. cit.*, 2.

[20] Le Coq, *op. cit.*, 27, No. 153.

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534 Sitar—very similar to the doutar, but has nine strings which are played with a bow.

Tambur—consisting of five strings that are plucked with the fingers.

Rbab—longer than the previously mentioned instruments, a sort of mandolin with five strings along the front of the instrument and five others of different lengths along the side.

Hechtar—a guitar with eight strings.

Ney—a pipe with eight holes.

Surney—a copper trumpet.

Sipay—antelope horn with iron rings.

Dop—a drum.

Kalun—a kind of psaltery (ancient stringed instrument) made of a wooden box on which eighteen pairs of brass wires are strung, supported by wooden pads, regulated by fixed keys at the side. (The Chinese have a similar instrument, and it is possible that the kalun was brought from China.)

535 The dance is performed by both men and women. Each usually dances by himself, although a man and woman may dance together. They sing as they dance. The dance is fiery and rhythmic. The body sways continuously and the arms play a very important part in expressing the mood of the dancer. When a number of women perform together, they usually form a circle and exchange places. They sometimes arrange themselves in a double line or in pairs, each person dancing in her own place. Like the Turkic music, the dance steps seem dull and unvaried to the unaccustomed Western observer.

This form of dance is quite unknown in the Moslem parts of Western Asia, and would be highly frowned upon. Le Coq is of [174] [114] the opinion that these dances were probably inherited from the old pre-Islamic times.

533 535 177 668 The arts of folk dance and music have been promoted by the Communists as part of their program of nationality cultural activities and expressions. The professional teams of dancers and musicians perform often in the different National Festivals in China and also abroad. More than encouraging the performance of the existing folk dances and music, the Communists have been promoting the creation of the new "folk dance" and "folk music," to express the new era of liberation. A sample of the results obtained is to be found in the following excerpts from so-called Uighur folk songs:

[539] "You have made our land a lovely garden, Mao Tse-tung,
You are the inspiration of our life, Mao Tse-tung,
We know you have our welfare at heart, Mao Tse-tung,
You are the saviour of our people, Mao Tse-tung,
Long live Mao Tse-tung!
Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! H-u-r-r-a-h!"